

Message Text

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44

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 EUR-25 DRC-01 /150 W

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R 061122Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 787

INFO AMBASSY AMMAN 6632

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 9895

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IS

SUBJ: WHERE DAYAN STANDS TODAY

BEIRUT POUCH BAGHDAD

1. DURING FIRST MONTH AFTER CEASEFIRE DAYAN EMERGED AS STATESMANLIKE ADVOCATE OF REALISM AND FLEXIBILITY, ONE OF FIRST TOP ISRAELI LEADERS TO EXPRESS PUBLICLY A PERSONAL VIEW THAT OCTOBER WAR MIGHT HAVE CREATED OPENING TO DURABLE PEACE SETTLEMENT. DAYAN WAS ELOQUENT IN HIS APPRECIATION FOR US MILITARY ASSISTANCE, COGNIZANT OF IMPORTANCE OF GOOD US-ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP AT TIME WHEN ISRAEL STOOD VIRTUALLY ISOLATED IN WORLD COMMUNITY, AND CONSTRUCTIVE IN HIS VIEW THAT ISRAEL SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE FAR REACHING CONCESSIONS AT PEACE CONFERENCE.

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS, AT DECEMBER 5 LABOR PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING DAYAN RESTATED THAT ISRAEL IS GOING TO PEACE CONFERENCE PREPARED TO MAKE TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR A PEACE AGREEMENT. HE
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REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THERE WERE THREE INTERLOCKING ELEMENTS

FOR DETERMINING FUTURE ISRAELI BORDERS--PROBLEM OF STRATEGIC DEPTH, STRENGTH AND EQUIPMENT FO IDF, AND A US TREATY OR GUARANTEE. PRESS QUOTES HIM AS ADDING: "I DO NOT EXCLUDE ANY OF THESE COMPONENTS FROM THE SUM TOTAL FOR DETERMINING ISRAEL'S FUTURE BORDERS". HE ALSO IS SAID TO HAVE STATED, " I WOULD LIKE US TO BE IN THE PICTURE IN SOME WAY. I WOULD NOT LIKE THEM TO PULL OUT AND LEAVE ONLY THE RUSSIANS AND THEIR POEOPLE HERE."

3. AT SAME MEETING DAYAN ALSO STATED THAT HE ACCEPTED LATEST LABOR PARTY PROGRAM (TEL AVIV 9619) BECAUSE IT OPPOSED RETURN TO JUNE 4, 1967 BORDERS AND REJECTED IDEA OF CREATING INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN. EMERGENCE OF SUCH A STATE, HE SAID, WOULD SIGNAL BEGINNING OF DESTRUCTION OF STATE OF ISRAEL.

4. DURING PAST SEVERAL WEEKS DASAN HAS ALSO MADE SEVERAL HEARDLINE SPEECHES REAFFIRMING HIS SUPPORT FOR PRINCIPLES OF GALILI DOCUMENT. HE DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE CHANGED HIS VIEWS ON LEGITIMACY AND IMPORTANCE OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT POLICY INCLUDING HIS PET PROJECT FOR CITY OF YAMIT IN RAFAH JUNCTION AREA. HOWEVER, HE IS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID DEC 5 THAT CURRENT DICUSSION OF GALILI DOCUMENT'S VALIDITY IS MOOT.

5. DAYAN'S MORE HARDLINE STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN IN PART AN EFFORT TO SHORE UP HIS DOMESTIC POLITICAL FORTUNES. IN WAKE OF WAR, AND PARTICULARLY AS PUBLIC HAS BECOME MORE AWARE OF LEADERSHIP FAILURES CONCERNING IDF PREPAREDNESS AND CONDUCT OF WAR, DAYAN'S DOMESTIC POSITION HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY WEAKENED. POLLS SHOWED MARKED DROP IN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN HIM, SEVERAL COMMENTATORS AND MEMBERS OF LABOR PARTY CALLED FOR HIS RESIGNATION, AND ISSUE OF WHETHER HE SHOULD BE DROPPED FROM NEXT CABINET BECAME IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF LABOR PARTY DEBATE ON HOW TO REGAIN PUBLIC SUPPORTM

6. DAYAN'S FUTURE CLEARLY IS UP IN THE AIR. AT DEC 5 CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING HE REPEATED HIS READINESS TO TENDER HIS RESIGNATION IF MRS MEIR OR LABOR PARTY ASKS FOR IT. HE ADDED THAT HE HAS NEITHER ASKED NOR BEEN ASKED TO PART OF NEXT CABINET. WHAT HAPPENS TO DAYAN (AS TO REST OF TOP CONFIDENTIAL

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LEADERSHIP) DEPENDS IN LARGE MEASURE ON OUTCOME OF ELECTIONS AND ON ACHIEVEMENT OF PROGRESS TOWARD MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. MRS MEIR'S PERSONAL PREFERENCE DOUBTLESS IS TO KEEP HIM ON, BUT HER FREEDOM IN THIS REGARD WILL BE CONDITIONED BY WHAT HAPPENS ON DECEMBER 31. AS OF NOW, NEITHER DUMPING OF DAYAN IN FORMING NEXT GOVERNMENT, NOR DRAMATIC COMEBACK BY HIM AS SECOND MOST INFLUENTIAL PERSON IN GOI CAN BE EXCLUDED.

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